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Muslim China

BY
AHMED ALI

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AHMED ALI



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PREFACE

The invitation to serve as British Council Visiting Professor at the National Central University, Nanking, afforded me the opportunity, I had always longed for, of going to China. During the period February 1947 to March 1948, which I spent there, I made as thorough a study of the Chinese and their affairs as I could. I read. I travelled about. I discussed things with people of all ranks and classes. I made friends with the Chinese, who accepted me as one of themselves. My home in Lan Yuan, Orchid Garden, became the meeting ground of China and Pakistan. To it came teachers, students, poets, writers, Budhists, Muslims, Christians, Chinese from various parts, Turkis and foreigners, greatly adding to my understanding of China. I discovered that that glorious land was just as fascinating to an oriental as it was to an occidental.

With this background, it is not surprising that I should have been unable to resist the temptation of writing about China.

In this short book I am confining myself to just one aspect of a great country. This is not due to my lack of interest in, or appreciation of, its other aspects. On the contrary, I have profound admiration for China as a whole and warm affection for all her people. There is, however, a large number of excellent books that treat of China generally. But there is none, as far as I am aware, that adequately deals with the Chinese Muslims, whose numbers alone entitle them to receive the serious attention of students of international affairs. What I present here is far from exhaustive ; nor altogether up-to-date. I hope my readers will overlook the shortcomings of my work and forgive me for any mistakes that I might have made.

Karachi,
March 28, 1949.

Ahmed Ali

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MUSLIM CHINA

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND

The Chinese are an exceptionally nationalistic people. They have been cut off from the rest of the world by impassable barriers, which has made them insular. Though many of them have taken to European clothes or have received American education, they remain essentially Chinese.

On the whole they are a proud people, proud of their culture and ancient past ; and they have every reason to be proud of their heritage. The effects of their civilisation have been felt throughout the world. Their poetry is easily superior to that of the West, and almost as great as Persian poetry. Had it possessed mastery over all human emotions and variety of subject matter and verse-forms, it would have been as great. The Chinese arts of calligraphy and painting are supreme. Their painting has left permanent impressions on the Persian and Mughal schools. The quality of their silk, and they were the first to discover it, as of their tea, which they also call ch'a, is still the finest ; and their porcelain still remains the best in the world. In manners and politeness they have been foremost ; and Sa'di's *Gulistan* and *Bostan* seem to have been influenced by a knowledge of the works of Chinese scholars and reformers. The ruba'i has its origin in China, being an ancient Chinese verse-form; and it makes its appearance in Persia only about 865 A.D. Some of the metrical and rhyming schemes of Persian and Urdu poetry

also seem to derive from this land, as do so many other things, whose mention will make a long list.

The Persians, Arabs, Indians and Europeans owe much to this fabled country, though Arabia, Egypt, Iran, India and Greece have also given much to China in return. The contribution of the Muslim world occupies the first place, though much of it is unacknowledged and unknown today. This includes the Unani system of medicine and many art forms and the sciences of astronomy, alchemy, astrology, etc. Professor E. H. Parker relates that in "1657 A. D. a Mussulman, holding a position on that Board (the Astronomical Board at Peking), in denouncing the methods of Schall, informed the Emperor that '1058 years ago, eighteen men from the Western regions had brought to China the Mussulman calendar, and their descendants had ever since assisted China in astrological matters' ".¹ Many Muslims are mentioned by Broomhall as holding important posts in this field from the time of the T'ang dynasty onwards. The introduction of Islam to China during the T'ang Dynasty, with the consequent intimate contacts with Muslims from all over the Middle East and the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, gave rise to the Chinese Renaissance ; and this period remains the greatest in the history of Chinese poetry. Under this dynasty (618-906), says William Bowyer Honey, "the Empire was once more consolidated and extended, and trade and intercourse were established far and wide—by the overland route with Islamic Iran and Mesopotamia, where the Abbasid Caliphs had their court, and by sea with Farther India and the Islands of the Pacific..." "By the 14th century the green-glazed celadon wares of China were being exported far and wide to India, Persia and Egypt to

¹ *China and Religion*, p. 155

East Africa and to the islands of the South-West Pacific. In return China herself was once again subject to influences from abroad. Persian influence had made itself felt under the Sung, but under the Yuan dynasty a revolutionary change of fashion was brought about by the use of a blue colour for painted decoration on porcelain with far-reaching consequences"¹. This was the Persian cobalt blue, which, along with the unacknowledged Persian and Islamic artistic motifs, shapes and floral designs, gives Ming porcelain its glory.

In the past the wealth and splendour of China have been proverbial. Much of these has disappeared today ; but there is much still in this "Flowery Kingdom" that is splendid and beautiful, its cities, its landscape, its soil, its spring and autumn, its people and their culture. From times immemorial the Chinese have looked upon themselves as the superior race, and their emperors called themselves "T'ien-tzu", sons of heaven. They have proved their superiority by absorbing foreigners, even when the foreigners had established their suzerainty over this sub-continent, as did the Mongols and the Manchus, besides others.

The Chinese are a people without nerves. It is difficult to annoy or anger them. They are vivacious, full of cheerfulness and good humour. They love life and have even taken to European, or rather American, dancing and music like ducks to water. Their food, though it requires a cultivation of taste, is delicious and full of variety. Their dinner parties are social rituals that last for hours. They are courteous, friendly, patient and hospitable. Wherever you go you must have tea ; ch'a, is a word we have borrowed from them.

¹*The Ceramic Art of China*

Most of their characteristics are based on the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, which were in vogue uninterruptedly for over two thousand years, until, under the present educational policy, the classics were deleted from the curricula. The four books containing the two Masters' teachings were learnt by heart by all those who wished to have any pretensions to learning. Their teaching was based on the principle that human nature is fundamentally good. Mencius taught: "No man is without a merciful, a tender heart; no man is without a heart for shame and hatred; no man is without a heart to give away and yield; no man is without a heart for right and wrong." Confucius was once asked if one word could cover the whole duty of man, and he replied: "Fellow-feeling, perhaps".

Another Chinese characteristic is secretiveness. Yet one would seldom meet people who talk more or of more inconsequent things. They have no sense of privacy either; and even people one does not know just walk in on one, at all odd hours of the day or night, without even a word of apology. They lack enthusiasm, which is the characteristic only of frank and open people. There are, of course, some things about them, as with other people, which are not pleasant. But on the whole their charm is great.

Most educated Chinese have poise and balance. Of wisdom, there is no dearth in the country, for China's history is long and old; and the people's experiences have been varied and intense. Their emphasis is still on the heart and not on the mind; they live more by feeling than by thought. They are still better artists, painters and poets than logicians and metaphysicians, for logic and metaphysics are unknown to them; though of general

philosophical writing and thinking they have a great deal. Their's are the qualities of the heart. Was it not Confucius who said: "The great man is he that does not lose the child heart"? And again: "Man's heart is love, man's road is right. To leave the road unfollowed, let the heart stray and not know where to seek it, is sad indeed. When a man's dog or hen strays, he knows where to seek it; but when his heart strays, he knows not where to seek it. The scholar's way is no more than seeking the stray heart."

The teachings of China's philosophers have helped the country in retaining some of the feudal characteristics of the ancient Middle Kingdom. They are also responsible for the preservation of wisdom, practicalness and great good sense. Often in matters of government, and in every day life, the behaviour of the Chinese appears contradictory to a casual observer. But on deeper thought contradictions resolve and a clear pattern is discernable, as behind a jig-saw puzzle.

In spite of their modesty the Chinese have been a virile people. Their territorial possessions have extended far beyond their frontiers. As early as the time of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) they had subjugated thirty nations. In 735 A.D. they had attacked Western Turkestan. They had suzerainty over Annam, Burma, Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet and Turkestan. The states that paid them tribute were the Liuchiu Islands, Siam, Borneo, the Zulu Islands, Java, Ceylon, Nepal and Bhutan¹. Their armies have been known to have penetrated into Afghanistan; and according to unsubstantiated reports have marched up to Assam and Bengal. According to

¹See Sun Yat-sen's *The Three Principles* (San Min Chu Yi), Lecture II, pp. 15 and 16, The Commercial Press Edition. Shanghai. 1929.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, "China was even more imperialistic than Great Britain and Russia after the World War I"¹. They still have their colonial possessions, like Formosa (Taiwan), and hold sway over Eastern Turkestan, parts of Tibet, Inner Mongolia (though the Mongolians under the Communist Party declared their independence in May 1947) and they still claim Manchuria as theirs, though it is occupied by the Communists.

In spite of all this, China occupies a unique place in the world. Her prestige has risen since the War, through which China fought on undaunted. Since VJ Day, however, things have changed. The mounting Civil War has resulted in China's suffering a set-back. But China is destined to play an important role in the history and politics of Asia and of the world. It is possible that she may serve as the spring-board of another deadly war. Signs of this are not wanting. A direct intervention by a foreign power in the internal conflict might lead to grave international consequences.

Ever since the Revolution of 1911, China has not had any stability. Conditions throughout the nineteenth century were unsettled. Foreign aggression had intensified during the last 150 years of Manchu rule, reducing it to a nominal control over the country. The various Opium Wars, the Taiping Rebellion and the Boxer Rising with the ever mounting indemnities imposed by the foreign powers, Britain, France, Germany, U.S.A., Tsarist, Russia and Japan, had so reduced the economy of China that it could no longer be balanced or maintained. The people were against the Manchus, who were themselves foreigners, and were hated by everyone in the country.

¹*The Three Principles*, p. 34

Secret societies had been formed to overthrow both the Manchus and the foreign powers that were always demanding more and more concessions. But for disunity among themselves, due to their clashing interests, the foreigners would have cut up the country. Some powers, however, did manage to carve out portions for themselves. Annam was taken by the French; Hongkong and Kowloon became British; Liuchiu Islands and Formosa became Japanese, along with Southern Manchuria; the Germans controlled Shantung; Tsarist Russia made inroads into Sinkiang. Some cities and ports had international or concession zones. The budget of the Manchus was never balanced after 1895, although taxation had been greatly increased.

All these facts eventually led to the Revolution of 1911, under the Kuomintang (National People's Party), led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who had started it in 1894 as a secret society, originally called Shing Chung Wei (China Revival Party). Its aims were "to unite the patriotic Chinese people, to cultivate the arts of wealth and power, for the purposes of reviving China". In 1905 it was renamed Tung Ming Huei (Revolutionary Alliance), and was backed by businessmen and composed of young men who had been educated abroad. In 1911, on 10th October, known as the Double Tenth (10th of the 10th month), revolt broke out and a Republican Government was formed, controlling Shanghai and Canton. The revolutionaries were not well organised, however, and even the Kuomintang, which had replaced Tung Ming Huei, was not closely knit. As a result, in February 1912, Yuan Shih-k'ai, the Manchu Prime Minister, was made President of the National Assembly, under pressure from the right wings of the Kuomintang and the revolutionaries.

He ruled as a dictator, indebted to foreign powers for loans and help, and, after an unsuccessful attempt to declare himself emperor, died in 1915. In 1918, the Kuomintang succeeded again in forming a government at Canton; of this Dr. Sun Yat-sen was elected President in 1921. It controlled but a small territory in the Kwangtung province, while a pro-Japanese government ruled from Peking.

The Kuomintang at this time had with it merchants, intellectuals, students, peasants and workers. The national revolutionary zeal had fired the hearts of the people with hope and enthusiasm. In its wake came a literary renaissance, led by Lu Hsun and Hu Shih, similar to the literary revival that took place about the same time in India and later in 1932, led by some younger writers. In the same year (1921) was also formed the Communist Party of China, which today is not only the strongest rival of the Kuomintang, but controls a very large portion of the country, including the whole of Manchuria and the North, with other widely distributed areas. The two parties have been locked in mortal combat since 1928, with a break of about nine years between 1937 and 1946 when a United Front had been formed.

In 1924, the Kuomintang gave its programme through *The Three Principles* of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, which, in the words of Arthur Clegg¹, stood for "equalisation of land holdings, the nationalisation of large industries and public utilities, the encouragement of state-owned capital, the ending of all unequal treaties, freedom of speech, press and assembly, the organisation of peasant unions and trade unions, the self-determination of all nations

¹*The Birth of China*, p. 31

within China (Mongols, Tibetans, Muslims, etc.), the introduction of universal suffrage, sex equality in all its aspects, and energetic efforts for universal education." Most of these things, however, have not yet been given effect to.

After Sun Yat-sen's death in 1925, the Kuomintang came to be composed largely of bankers, merchants, landlords and the propertied classes. In 1926, General Chiang Kai-shek marched from Canton on an expedition for the unification of the whole country and the suppression of the war-lords, who controlled the various provinces. As this army marched towards Nanking, a number of these war-lords joined the Nationalists. In March 1927, Nanking fell ; in April, Shanghai was handed over to General Chiang by the workers of the city, who had held it for him since March. But the workers themselves were suppressed. In April, the Nanking Government was formed. The Nationalists were helped by the rich Shanghai bankers. In August, this Government became the official Kuomintang Government which it remains to this day. The national revolutionary movement started by Dr. Sun Yat-sen revived the whole country. Apart from the intellectuals and the rich and propertied classes, the workers and peasants were, with the rise of the Communist Party, also organised in strong trade unions. After Sun Yat-sen's death, the middle class section, with bankers, merchants and landlords, gained control over the Kuomintang. The Organic Law of August 1927 declared the Kuomintang as the only legal party in China. To this day it is the only legal party. The Democratic League, that had shown signs of rebellion, was banned at the end of 1947. Within the Kuomintang itself, there were certain powerful groups, many of which still retain their position. There are a few

minor parties also that acknowledge the over-lordship of the Kuomintang; but they do not count as separate organisations. The most influential persons in the Kuomintang are Ch'en Li-fu, General Ch'en Cheng, Dr. T. V. Soong, Dr. H. H. Kung and, of course, Generalissimo Chiang, who is connected by marriage with the last two.

Meanwhile the Communist Party was gaining strength. In 1927 the Communists had tried to form a Commune at Canton, but were defeated. Those units of their armies that escaped, regrouped themselves in the mountainous region of Kiangsi, under Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung. In 1930, their strength was 62,000 soldiers, half of them armed with rifles. By the end of the year, they had become so powerful that they defeated the armies under the War Minister Ho Ying-chin and again in December 1930 and in January and April 1931.

In September 1931, the Japanese invaded China and occupied Manchuria. In January next year, Shanghai was attacked, and Jehol was added to Manchukuo. The foreign powers advised the Chinese Government to leave the matter to the League of Nations. The League, as usual, dilly-dallied. In 1932 Sir John Simon declared to journalists at Geneva that "Japan needed to expand, that she was only doing for herself to-day what Great Britain had done in the past, and that the trouble with the League Covenant was that it did not allow sufficiently for the dynamic forces of history, such as those which had carried us into India, and were carrying Japan into Manchuria."¹ Faced with difficulties, the Kuomintang Government followed the middle course of relying on foreign help, and under the pro-Japanese policy of Wang Ching-wei, the Prime Minister, went on

¹*The China Press* (17-1-48)

fighting the Civil War throughout 1932 and 1933, instead of grappling with the Japanese. The strength of the Red Army had, however, grown. It was estimated at 200,000 soldiers in 1932 and at 350,000 in 1934. But the movement for unity within China to fight the Japanese was also growing. By 1936 it had assumed such proportions that it could no longer be ignored.

The Japanese, in the meantime, were pressing China to a common action against the Reds. This led many people to think otherwise. Eventually after much hesitation the Nationalists came to an understanding with the Communists to fight the Japanese foe, and a united front was formed in September 1937. This relieved the country of internal strife and led the people to resist the foreign aggressor with all their might. A great personality like that of Chiang Kai-shek was required to lead the united people. After the fall of Nanking to the Japanese, the Kuomintang Emergency Congress elected Generalissimo Chiang as Director-General and issued a comprehensive and revolutionary "Programme of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction." The people threw in all their weight and, without complaining, suffering many hardships, fought on. With World War II, foreign aid also came. China was eventually victorious.

The unity of the country achieved during the War was, however, broken soon after the peace. The Civil War has been going on since, increasing in ferocity and bitterness every day, crippling the economy, which had already been strained to breaking point. The economic and general situation during 1947-48 was extremely depressing, as is borne out by the opinions quoted below. The American Ambassador, J. Leighton Stewart, who has

been in China for twenty years as Professor and President of the American University at Peiping, said, in a speech on Washington Day 1947, that the "curse" of China is "(1) exploitation of public office for personal gain, including that of relatives and friends, and ruthless partisan bigotry; and (2) disease and hunger". Generalissimo Chiang himself confirmed this when he said, immediately after the June 1947 Gold Rush Scandal: "Everyone of us is interested in himself everywhere and everytime." General Wedemeyer, Presidential Envoy to China, speaking at a Cincinnati Foreign Policy Association meeting, on 15th January 1948, said that Generalissimo Chiang was surrounded "by people who are dragging him down, who are incompetent and dishonest..."¹ The *Shun Pao*, a Chinese paper, said in an editorial: "A portion of government officials are engaged in corruption, whenever there is an opportunity. Some of the industrialists are not willing to carry on their production, but privately plan for securing speculative profits. Merchants involve themselves in hoarding and speculation..."² The same editorial says: "China's intellectual world is now filled with a sense of defeatism..." Another paper, the influential *Ta Kung Pao*, commenting on the government land tax, in its issue of 28th November 1947, said "that farmers in the province of Kiangsu (in which Nanking is situated) are very much burdened by the government land tax, and that the harvest they reap, after one year of patient toil, can hardly be sufficient to meet their tax payments."³ The same paper (*Ta Kung Pao*,) writing about the current war situation declares: "The people in

¹*The China Press* (17-1-48)

²*The China Press* (13-1-1948)

³*Gung Ho News* (November, 1947)

China are suffering bitterly from the full scale civil war. Everywhere is poverty, destruction and death. Formerly the people feared death and now they fear to be alive.”¹

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* of Hongkong, analysing the currency reforms proposed at the end of 1947, and the economic situation in general, said : “Far from achieving a balanced budget for the first months of 1948, the Nanking Government’s deficit will be equivalent to at least one billion U.S. dollars in terms of foreign currency”². The Government, therefore, started negotiating for a loan from America. Even with American aid no solution to the problem could be found.

The outcome of the Civil War will have a great effect on the future of the whole of Asia. If the Nationalists win, China will remain on the side of Britain and the United States. If the Communists win, the Soviet *bloc* will become still stronger. Whatever happens, the fate of China will leave its permanent marks on Southern Asia. Pakistan cannot but watch the situation with the keenest interest.

China and Pakistan are near neighbours. Moreover, a good deal of the culture and language of Turkestan is shared by us, having been brought to us by Babur and encouraged by the glorious line of his descendants, which continued until 1857. Our relations with China are as old as the beginnings of Islam. Our trade and commerce are older still; how old no one can say for certain. Khotan may be cut off from Karachi and Lahore today ; but Kashghar is not, for some Pakistanis, merchants and others, still dwell there.

If anyone in South Asia has living ties with China,

¹*The China Press* (18-6-1948)

²*The China Press* (20-1-1948)

it is the Muslims, for the Budhists, who had given their religion and philosophy to the Middle Kingdom, were long ago driven away from India by the ferocious bigotry and fanaticism of the Brahmins. Apart from the fact that at least one-eighth of the Chinese population is Muslim, sharing the same culture, religion and outlook with us, the Urdu language has hundreds of words of Turki and Mongolian. 'Bahadur' and 'shabash' are as much current in Pakistan today as they are in Mongolia. Turki words are too numerous to mention ; many of our poets, like Insha, have written in that language. During the rule of the T'ang Dynasty alone as many as thirtyseven embassies had come to China from Muslim countries ; and at least twenty are mentioned during the Sung Dynasty. In Mongol (Yuan) and Ming times too, they were numerous and large.

Whoever rules China, China will remain. Though Pakistan is a new country, her people are inheritors of the traditions of a great past. By virtue of her geographical, political and cultural position, she occupies a unique place, connecting the Middle East with South-East Asia, acting as a natural bridge between the two Muslim spheres that have long been separated. As such she is destined to play a very important role in shaping the history, not only of the Muslim world and Middle East, but of the whole of Asia. As for China, political parties and rulers may come and go, philosophies, systems and policies may change, but the people will live on as from times immemorial ; and it is the people who make a country and a nation, not the rulers or political groups. With the people of China, whatever their religion, the people of Pakistan have firm links,

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION OF ISLAM TO CHINA

As in other respects, so in matters of religion, China is a peculiar country. There are many religions that are practised in it ; even moral systems have assumed religious forms, and yet the Chinese are hardly religious. They evince no zeal or fervour for, and have no attachment to, any religion. In fact, one person can practise many religions at the same time. This, of course, does not apply to the Muslims. But even they are not religious and fervent in the sense in which the Muslims of other countries are. Yet, if there is anyone who can be said to be religious in China it is the Muslim.

Apart from Islam, there are at least four other religions in China : Taoism, Buddhism, Ancestor-worship and Confucianism. Christianity has also been introduced, but it cannot be said to have acquired any great hold. Very often, people outside China are apt to think that Christianity is very popular. That is because it has become fashionable with the educated Chinese to adopt European names like John, Richard, Mary, Margaret, etc. These names have nothing whatever to do with the religion of their bearers, just as from the name you could never tell a Muslim from a non-Muslim in China, for they have the same names. The Chinese say that they adopt European names for the convenience of their foreign friends who cannot pronounce Chinese names properly and easily. In fact, this custom is due partly to a certain inferiority complex, partly because having more than one name was, and still is, quite common and popular in China.

Taoism was founded by Lao Tzu, who was a contemporary of Confucius¹ and lived in the 6th century B.C. Originally the cult was intimately bound up with mysticism. Tao means 'Way'; but even the master leaves it undefined. "The Tao that can be expressed is not the eternal Tao ; the name that can be defined is not the unchanging name", says the *Tao Te Ching*² by Lao Tzu. And again : "I do not know whose offspring it is ; but it looks like the predecessor of Nature". Thus, Tao represents impersonal nature, which

found everywhere and to which all things owe their origin. It is a mystical system, with many universal qualities, and demands abnegation and the renunciation of wordly cares. In its original form, however, it is not practised at all today, nor perhaps ever was, except by a few adepts. There are Taoist temples throughout China, full of strange images and deities. Its priests exorcise ghosts and demons, attend to the spirits of the dying to keep them from harming their families. It is mixed up with the most primitive superstitions and ancient beliefs, as Hinduism is in India. Like Hinduism, again it is full of legendary stories, and appeals more to fancy than to religious feeling. The Taoist priest, who discovered the famous Tun Huang caves about fifty years ago, containing Buddhist paintings going back to the early centuries of the Christian era, and other relics, burnt a good many of them and swallowed the ashes to increase his ' spiritual ' power and knowledge of the secrets of the Universe.

Budhism was introduced into China at the beginning of the Christian era, and has flourished since then, especially because it does not clash with Taoism. Budhism has innumerable schools ; Taoism is completely vague ;

¹The real name of Confucius was Kung Fu-tzu.

²Translated by Ch'u Ta-Kao.

both acknowledge the presence of ghosts and demons ; and the common people pray both at the Taoist and Buddhist temples. Similarly in Japan in the tenth century and earlier, both Shintoism and Buddhism were followed by the Court simultaneously ; and the Japan of those days was a perfect copy of China.

We know enough about Buddhism. Its essence lies in purifying the spirit, by overcoming the lusts of the flesh, by renouncing worldly pleasures and by the desire to merge into the Godhead, from which the spirit had come. Its teachings are many, including good deeds and kindness to all living things.

The influence of Buddhism on Chinese art, culture, thought and daily life, however, has been great, as great as the influence of Islam on the nations of the Middle East, the East and Eastern Europe, or that of Christianity on the Western peoples. As the vagueness of Indian speculative thought did not appeal to the practical Chinese, they interpreted Buddhist doctrines in terms of the moral virtues that had been preached by their own philosophers and by Confucius and Mencius. As a result, Chinese Buddhism came to be quite distinct from the religion as it was preached and practised in India, the land of its origin. The Amida Budha, generally worshipped in China, is a deity unknown to the early Buddhist scriptures like the "Western Paradise", the pure heaven of Chinese Buddhism. Nirvana and Gautama are almost unknown to the Chinese¹. The Buddhist temples of China are full of the Budhas who have become gods of transcendent power, who sit in the midst of beautifully prepared models of paradise sprawling over mountains and skies, through which roads meander and unfold themselves before the bewildered visitor. Here the

¹See C. P. Fitzgerald's *China*, pp. 270-286

gods listen to the prayers of anguished mankind, enjoy the offerings of incense, and listen in peace to incantations and the sounds of musical gongs, and look down with grace upon the kowtowing worshippers.

Confucianism plays an equally important, if not greater, part in Chinese life. In reality it is not a religion, though Confucian temples exist, and in the past monarchical days, people used to worship in them and offer sacrifices. These sacrifices, however, were reserved for the Mandarins, the official class. There was a proper religious ritual consisting of music and offerings. In truth, Confucianism is a code of moral and social behaviour. It is philosophical, and lays emphasis on tradition, filial piety, including respect for and obedience to elders, loyalty to the throne and subservience to authority. Supernaturalism played no part in it. When Confucius was once asked by a disciple about heaven, he was quite annoyed and said that since we know nothing about the earth, why should we worry about heaven? And since we know so little about this life, there is no point in worrying about the next one. That is the Confucian attitude.

The influence of Kung Fu-tzu's teachings has been very great. Yet there is nothing in them that stops people from following other religions. His emphasis was on the principles of *Li*, among whose functions, in his own words, "the most valuable is that it establishes a sense of harmony. This is the most beautiful heritage of the ancient kings. It is a guiding principle for all things, big and small. If things do not go right, and you are bent only on having social harmony (or peace) without regulating society by the pattern of *Li* (or the principle of social order), still things won't go right". Actually the worship of Confucius is based more on Ancestor-worship than on any religious principles.

Ancestor-worship is the oldest form of religion in China and goes back to primitive times when people believed that the parents alone gave life to their children. This belief still holds good in China, though in a modified form. Every family has a room set apart, where the tablets and portraits of the ancestors are hung. These are worshipped at death anniversaries and other times of the year. Until the last century they were worshipped as often as twice or once a month. At such ceremonies delicious dishes are cooked and offered to the spirits of the dead; candles, incense and paper money are burnt, and the descendants kow-tow (*i.e.* prostrate) before the ancestors. Twice a year the graves of the ancestors are similarly worshipped, and once a year, in spring at the time of the great festival, they are repaired. The best and most commanding sites are chosen for the graves, slopes of hills being always preferred.

In earlier times the wives, servants and retainers of emperors were buried alive with them, as also animals, food, wine, money and everything that is required for a luxurious and comfortable living. The wives of lesser folk immolated themselves on their death, for the life of a widow was hardly better than that of her sister in Hindu India. The reason for burying food and other necessities of life was the belief that the spirit would come back to inhabit the body and would require immediate nourishment and sustenance. The practice of burying or immolating wives (how like the Hindu custom of *suttee*!) was condemned by Confucius. But when the emperor Shih Huang-ti died about 250 years after Confucius, his wives and his whole retinue of servants, workmen, etc., were buried alive with him. The custom of human sacrifice was, however, given up later,

although no one could prevent the immolation of wives, who desired to immolate themselves and this is so even in present day China. In place of human beings were buried figures of clay, including images of ladies, dancers, retainers, horses, camels and ever so many other things. This custom prevailed until Ming times, when the founder of the Ming dynasty (14th century), Hung Wu, started a fashion of economy by introducing wooden vessels in place of pottery. But few could have been expected to follow this example, and valuable things were still buried with the dead. During the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) the same customs prevailed, and the number and kind of burial vessels were prescribed for various orders of the princely and the noble classes.

Much of this has disappeared now ; but the funerals are still very elaborate and expensive ; and with the dead are still buried jewellery and the things they had liked most in life. Ancestor and grave worship also continues as before. Every Chinese, who goes to the Chung Shan Ling, the mausoleum of Sun Yat-sen, just outside Nanking, is made to bow before the large portrait of the founder of the Republic. Soldiers are posted to see them pay homage and respect to "the ancestor" of modern China.

A certain amount of respect is shown to ancestors and saints by Muslims of various countries too, when *fatiha* is said and *niyaz* offered on their death anniversaries. But in China, it is a religion, and no one can be disrespectful towards ancestors, for that is how filial piety and respect for authority are inculcated. Most people are greatly shocked at the fact that the Chinese Communists are destroying this ancient and venerated custom. Many persons who have nothing else against the Communists

cite this with horror. Ancestor-worship is practised side by side with Taoism and Buddhism. For the Chinese love good food and good living.

Merged into Ancestor-worship is another, a more primitive, form of religion, the worship of Heaven, based on the principle of the unity of heaven and earth, the principle of Ying and Yang, male and female, leading to the marriage of Heaven and Earth. Thousands of years before Christ, a legendary emperor saw a dragon appear out of water, bearing on its back magical, astronomical and heavenly signs. These signs were perfected by another emperor. Other emperors followed these signs, and they became an established thing. At certain times of the year, the emperor used to pray to Heaven on behalf of the whole people, and only the emperor could do that. In Peking, stands the beautiful Altar of Heaven, with lines going from various directions towards a centre, and steps leading up to the topmost platform of a circular shape. The centre was supposed to be the centre of heaven and earth, and the emperor used to pray standing in this centre. This Altar was built by the Ming emperors, no doubt, on an ancient site. This custom was followed by the Manchus. The last person to pray to Heaven and make sacrifices and offerings, after the fall of the Manchus, in 1911, was Yuan Shih-K'ai, the first president of the Republic, who, later claimed the throne. Chiang Kai-shek gave it up. But in every house, inside the ancestral hall, is a tablet of Heaven, which is worshipped before the ancestors ; and the people have not forgotten this age old custom. It was for this reason that the Chinese kings had called themselves T'ien-tzu, son of Heaven.

It was against this background that Islam was introduced into China in the seventh century or the first

century Hijara by the Arabs who came by sea to Canton and Hangchow, and by others who came from the Muslim lands, through Iran and Turkestan. The commercial intercourse between Arabia and China goes far back into history, even prior to any historical records. E. M. Whevry, quoted by Marshall Broomhall¹, says: "For centuries preceding the advent of Mohammad the Arabs had mercantile interests in India and the East Indian Archipelago, and even in China, bringing thence the precious stones, gold, silver, spices, and costly silks, which were carried by sea to the Persian Gulf and to Alexandria for transmission to Europe".

According to Chinese Muslim traditions, Islam was introduced into China during the Sui dynasty (589-618 A.D.), which seems hardly probable, as the Hijara begins in 622; but it may well be possible, if the dates of the Chinese calendar, which has been changed so often, are corrected. In any case, with the T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.), we come to have historical records dealing with Muslims. In 638 and 643 respectively, came to the court of T'ai Tsung, the second T'ang emperor (627-650) two embassies, one from Yezdegrid, the last of the Sassanian kings of Iran, and the other from the Roman Empire, both reporting their defeats by the Arabs. Yezdegrid's son Firuz and the latter's son accepted service as Captain of the Guard in T'ai Tsung's army. These events made the Chinese realise for the first time the importance of Arabia and Islam. About 650 A.D. the Chinese emperor sent an embassy to Caliph Othman, who, in his turn, sent an official reply. The general, who brought it, was received with great honour at Sianfu, the capital, in 651 A.D.

Apart from this embassy, and even before it, other dis-

¹*Islam in China.*

tinguished Arabs had been received at the Chinese court and the Chinese had, as the court records prove, a fairly good knowledge of Arabia. In the next century, however, the Chinese were to know the extent of Muslim power. Hsuan Tsung (713-756), the then emperor, sent an army of about 200,000 men under the command of his nephew, to fight general Qutaiba bin Muslim, only to sustain defeat and turn back. Later, however, Qutaiba sent an embassy asking the emperor either to accept Islam or pay *jizya*. For the first time a foreign envoy refused to kow-tow before the emperor. It is not very clear as to what eventually happened ; but the Muslim armies stood at their highest glory and the Muslim Empire had been extended to the very doors of China. But for the death, in 719, of Caliph Walid bin 'Abdul-Malik and the subsequent assassination of Qutaiba bin Muslim, perhaps the whole of China would have become a part of the Muslim world. It is known that on hearing the news of the Caliph's death, the Muslim armies made peace with China and, having accepted rich presents and tributes from the emperor, retired from the frontiers of that country.

As a result of contact with them, however, many people accepted Islam, among them a tribe called Hui Ch'i, after whom the Muslims of China were known until the time of the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty, when the name was changed to Hui-Hui, by which they are still known. But there is another name, which is generally used by Muslims and which is seen written above Muslim restaurants, namely, Ch'ing Chen (pronounced Ch'ing Jen); and Islam is called Ch'ing Chen Chiao (pronounced Ch'ing Jen Jiao), meaning Pure Religion, as Ch'ing and Chen mean Pure and Clean respectively.

In any case, after these events, China had to open her

gates to Muslims, who, according to *Si-yu-chuen*, (The Records of Western Asia), about this time “came in crowds into the Middle Kingdom, and as by an outbreak from more than a hundred kingdoms, distant at least one thousand leagues, who brought with them as presents their sacred books, which were received and deposited in the Hall for the Translation of Sacred Books and Canons, attached to the Imperial Palace. From this time the religious doctrines of different occidental countries spread abroad, and were openly practised in the Empire of the T’ang” (quoted by Marshall Broomhall¹ from De Thiersant).

During the time of the ‘Abbaside Caliphs, several embassies came to China. About this time, an event took place that did more to spread Islam in China than anything else. During the reign of the tenth T’ang emperor, Hsuan Tsung, a rebellion was organised by a general An Lu-shan in 755. The emperor abdicated in favour of his son, Su Tsung, who appealed to the Muslims. The Caliph Abu Ja’far sent a modern well-equipped army of about four to ten thousand soldiers to help Su Tsung. The rebels were defeated and the two capitals of Sianfu and Honanfu were recovered in 757. To show his gratitude the new emperor treated the Muslim soldiers like guests and provided them with all the amenities of life. These soldiers never returned to Khorasan and, settling down in China, married Chinese women and formed the nucleus of the Chinese Muslim population of today.

According to the T’ang Records, in 787, there were as many as four thousand families of foreigners residing at Sianfu, belonging to Urumichi, Ansi, Kashghar and other

¹*Islam in China.*

Muslim countries. They received a monthly allowance from the court, amounting to about 500,000 ounces of silver per year. The Tibetans had occupied the routes leading to the West ; so these families could not return, and asked for permission to settle down in China. This was granted and they were treated in the best possible way by the T'ang emperors. Many members of these families joined the Chinese army.

Apart from the Muslims, who came by the overland route, there were many who came by sea and settled down in Canton and Hangchow. These Muslims spread Islam in the South, as the others had done in the North and North-west. Among those who came by sea were four missionaries, who arrived as early as the reign of T'ai Tsung (627-650). Of these four, one is said to have made Canton his centre, another Yangchow, and the other two settled in Chuangchow. Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas had settled in Canton, and there stands to this day the mosque, which was originally built by him. Official records prove that the earliest Muslim contact with China begins in 651 or the year 29 Hijara. But these missionaries had come earlier than that, although no official records of this are to be found.

During the Soong dynasty (960-1280), the Court Records mention twenty embassies from Arabia. Muslims received good treatment from the kings of this dynasty too ; and many of them were given titles and appointed to high posts. The news of this treatment spread to the Muslim countries and many Muslims came from Turkestan to find employment in the Chinese army.

During the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty (1280-1368), the number of Muslims was considerable, and a Muslim, named Hasan, was raised to the office of minister. An

English writer, E.H. Parker, records that during the Mongol times “a flood of Mohammadans of all kinds, Arabs, Persians, Bokharites, converted Turks—and doubtless Uigurs—passed freely to and fro, and scattered themselves gradually over China itself in a way they had never done before”. Among the many Muslims that came were astronomers, scientists, doctors, travellers and scholars, some of whom have left records. Ibn-i-Batuta had also come to this country and speaks at length of it in his *Travels*. A significant Hadith is attributed to the Prophet Mohammad, namely : “In search of knowledge go even to China”.

Under the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) also, the Muslims enjoyed privileges, and, both in the army and the civil services, occupied high positions. Numerous embassies also came to China from Arabia. During all this time, Muslim arts and crafts influenced China, and a great number of artistic motifs, peculiarly Muslim, are seen in the famous Ming porcelain. Even the beautiful blue of this porcelain is due to the introduction of Persian cobalt. A good deal of porcelain belonging to this period bears Arabic words and inscriptions and verses from the Holy Quran. Besides, many shapes of T'ang, Soong and Ming china are based on those common in Islamic countries.

With the fall of the Mings in 1644 and the establishment of the rule of the Manchus, the Muslims begin to lose all favour, and their subsequent history is one of unspeakable sufferings. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries¹, they were persecuted and massacred on a vast scale, as have been the Muslims of India, during the last three years.

¹Many massacres had taken place earlier, as for instance, in 877 A.D. See Rev. Charles Gutztaff : *A Sketch of Chinese History*, Volume II, Chapter 20. London. 1834.

CHAPTER III

THE MANCHUS AND THE MUSLIMS

The Muslims of China can be divided into four groups :

- (1) The Muslims of North-west, Kansu, Ninghsia, Shensi and Chinghai, who are a mixture of Turki, Tatar and Chinese races. They are called Tungan, which is a Turki word meaning 'convert'. They are estimated to be 50 per cent of the population of the areas in which they live.
- (2) Muslims of Turkestan (Sinkiang). They are Turki, and form a majority of 94 per cent in Sinkiang.
- (3) The Muslims of Yunnan, called Panthay. They are a mixed race, many of them descendants of Arab soldiers. Today they are about 25 per cent of the population, although until the last century their percentage was much higher, at least 50 per cent ; but it was reduced after the persecutions and massacres.
- (4) Muslims of the rest of China. Many of them for instance, in Hopei and Shantung, have a distinct foreign mixture. There is not a single province of China, which does not have its Muslim population. Most of them are indistinguishable from other Chinese, in dress, manners and customs.

As has already been narrated, under the T'ang and subsequent Chinese rulers, Soong, Yuan and Ming, that is, from the seventh to the end of the seventeenth century, the Muslims were not only treated well, but rose to high positions of importance and trust, and were allowed many concessions, privileges and facilities. The Manchus

(1644-1911), however, proved the greatest enemies of the Muslims and persecuted them mercilessly,¹ sometimes only for possessing books written in Arabic and even Islamic books in Chinese. For instance, in 1783, in the reign of Ch'ien Lung (1736-1795), Sa Tzai, the governor of Kiangsu and Kiangsi, reported to the emperor the arrest of Hai Fu-shun for possessing five books in Chinese and twentyone in Arabic, and, in the same connection,² of the arrest of a number of other Muslims. A little later in the same year the governor, along with three other high officials, reported to the emperor the discovery of further Islamic books and the prosecution of more Muslims for this. Mr. Badruddin Chini writes in his *Chini Mussalman* that during this dynasty "the bones of Muslims were broken... their strength was slowly sucked out of them... they were subjected to such cruelty and terror that they could not bear it, and their hearts were shattered to bits..." (pages 29-30). He goes on to comment that "the terror of the Manchu dynasty was not confined only to the breaking up of Muslims' political power and the suppression of all their aspirations but they were not even allowed the freedom of expression and belief".

For this reason, as early as 1731, the emperor Yung Cheng (1723-35) forbade them to kill oxen (Broomhall, page 143). The Muslims could not accept it lying down and rose against the emperor, and he had to restore their right of cow-slaughter.³ But persecution continued under the next emperor. So the Muslims of Kansu (including Ninghsia)

¹Broomhall repeats again and again that there were no Muslim rebellions in China before the Manchu dynasty came into power. See, for instance, pages 128, 148, 163, etc.

²For extracts from edicts and reports on these see *Chini Mussalman* by Badruddin Chini (Hai Wai-liang).

³See De Thiersant's *Le Mahometisme en Chine* and Broomhall, page 194.

rose in 1785. They were, however, defeated, and Ch'ien Lung, "more cunning and cruel" than his predecessors, forbade the Muslims to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, prohibited the coming of maulwis to China, and forbade the building of mosques.

In 1862 all the Muslim inhabitants of Tsinkia, a village in Kansu, were put to the sword, forcing the Muslims of the district to take up arms against the Manchus. The Manchus were more powerful and exterminated the whole Muslim population of the Shensi province (Broomhall, pages 152 and 153). This led to the Muslim War of 1863 and the defeat of the Manchu armies. The Muslims remained free until 1870, when they were overpowered and two out of every three Muslims were killed.¹ The governor of Turkestan (which had been taken by the Manchus in 1760), fearing that the Tungan Muslim soldiers of his garrison might rise against him after the declaration of the Muslim War in 1863, plotted to massacre them. The Tungans discovered the plot and retaliated by killing about 2,000 Chinese soldiers and capturing the city. This forced the governor to commit suicide. At this time rose the heroic figure of Yaqoob Beg, who in 1864 had joined the army as a subordinate officer. Under the title of Ataliq Ghazi, he founded an independent kingdom which was recognised by Russia in 1872, and by Great Britain in the same year; and the Sultan of Turkey conferred on him the title of Emir-ul-Mominin. This raised hopes of a great Muslim revival in Asia. It was thought that parts of China comprising Yunnan, Szech'uan, Turkestan, Kansu and Shensi might become a Muslim state, especially, because the Yunnan Muslims had also risen and established their power in that province

¹Col. Bell quoted by Broomhall, p. 155,

under Tu Wen-siu, who, under the title of Sultan Suleiman, had proclaimed himself ruler of one half of Yunnan. But these hopes were not to be realised. After twelve years of rule Yaqoob Beg died suddenly in 1877; and Yunnan was lost.

After Yaqoob Beg's death, the Muslims could not resist the Chinese, who were secretly helped by Tsarist Russia. Thousands of Muslims were massacred after their defeat. They, however, rose again in 1895, when the Chinese killed every Muslim in the town of Kaitsingkong in Kansu. As a result "the trees by the roadside were in many cases decorated with Muslim heads", as an English missionary, Marshall Broomhall, reports.¹ During one month alone more than 800 Muslims were beheaded at the court of the magistrate in Sining. Some authorities state that during 1862-1878 as many as ten million persons were killed in the North-west and West (Broomhall, page 162). Even as late as 1928, that is, under the Kuomintang Government, who are the successors of the Manchus, the "Christian" General Fang Yu-hsiang, once a great friend and class mate of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, also a Christian, invaded Hochow in Kansu and 'liquidated' the Muslims of that place.

The story of the Yunnan struggle is similar though somewhat different. The Muslims of this province were experiencing persecution and injustice at the hands of the Manchu officials. In 1818, a mosque had been destroyed in Yungchang and the officials had behaved most high-handedly.² This forced the Muslims to rise. They defeated the Manchu armies; but eventually in 1819, they

¹ *Islam in China*, p. 162.

² Broomhall, following De Thiersant (*Le Mahometisme en Chine*) and John Anderson (*Expedition to Yunnan*), p. 129.

themselves were defeated. Thereafter the persecutions continued relentlessly as before. In 1834, 1,600 Muslim men, women and children were massacred at Menmienting (Broomhall, page 129). The Muslims were forced to retaliate, which they did with great effect. In 1855, however, Muslim miners of Shihyachang were attacked by the Chinese, many more in numbers; and the Muslims counter-attacked. But Huang Chung, the viceroy of the province, who hated the Muslims, ordered a general massacre of them throughout the province (Broomhall, page 30). May 19th of 1856 was fixed for this massacre; and secret orders were sent to the officials to carry it out. The Muslims, however, came to know of the plan, and after some three hundred families had been butchered at Ningchow and their homes burnt and mosques destroyed, they rose as one man to defend and avenge themselves. The Manchu officials treacherously murdered some seven hundred families in Yunnanfu, together with some graduates, who had come to appear for the secretarial examinations. This enraged the Muslims so much that, though they were much less in numbers than the Chinese, they struck terror in the hearts of the enemies by their fierce wrath and energy. In the war that ensued at least a million persons were killed. The Muslims, for strategic reasons, divided the province into two parts, both under a common leader, Ma Teh-sing. In the East, Ma Teh-sing and his nephew, and general Ma Hsien, made Kuanyi their headquarters; in the West Tu Wen-siu (later Sultan Suleiman) captured Talifu. The two between them conquered the whole province. But at the height of their success, the supreme leader, the learned Ma Teh-sing, not wishing himself to become the king made peace with the Chinese Commander-in-Chief. But Tu Wen-siu

proclaimed himself Generalissimo. Ma Teh-sing was eventually glad to be appointed Viceroy and Ma Hsien was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the imperial armies. This led, some thirteen years later, to the downfall of the Muslims for they were now divided into two camps.

Tu Wen-siu, however, continued his struggle ; but left alone his power weakened, and treachery helped his defeat. In 1873 Tu Wen-siu was taken prisoner, and when he was brought before the Manchu commander, he asked only for one thing, namely, that the people be spared bloodshed. After this, he died, having swallowed poison. The Chinese commander, of course, ignored Suleiman's wishes. Suleiman's head was severed from his body and sent as a present to the Manchu emperor ; and there was general massacre of Muslims everywhere.¹

It will take too long to tell of all the sufferings of the Muslims and of the tyranny and cruelty of the Manchus. One English writer says : "How many hundreds of thousands of men, women and children lost their lives in those eighteen years will probably never be known". Another English writer, George Clarke, writing in 1885, twelve years after the massacres, said that the Muslims were not allowed even to open shops, and that throughout China they were forbidden to live inside the cities. This policy was adhered to until the end of the Manchu rule in 1911, when the Republic was proclaimed.

To this day we find in Nanking, the capital of China, and other cities, Muslims still living outside the city walls, though not under any official orders. They have no

¹E. C. Baber : *Travels and Researches in Western China*, quoted by Broomhall, p. 142. The pages that follow should be read for an account of the persecution and massacre of Muslims.

special protection and every now and then, are attacked by the Chinese press for being Muslims or for praying in their own fashion. Their sentiments are often disregarded by the Chinese, of which in Peking there have been a number of instances in recent years. Even the British press in China sometimes ridicules them. For instance, *The North China Daily News* of 16th January 1948, reporting the Shanghai Sin Min Wan Pao incident of a few days earlier, mocked at them and said that the Muslims 'notoriously dislike' the pig. But they have not lost courage and fight on as best they can.

The Government's disregard of Muslim aspirations has been demonstrated in Turkestan, where the people have, since 1929, been fighting for independence. They were suppressed in 1929, 1930 and 1933; but they did not give up the struggle. In 1938 and 1940 their movement became so formidable that the Chinese Government had to promise them some measure of independence. By the agreement of 1946, they were given some autonomy, which, however, has remained largely on paper. The Governor, and the other high officials and the army commanders are all Kuomintang men and not acceptable to the people of Turkestan. In a world from which the idea of imperialism has fled, one expects "the most civilised" country in Asia to be progressive. But in spite of the 'new constitution' these hopes have remained unfulfilled.

The Chinese Government have sadly neglected this country, which badly needs schools, hospitals and central organisation. General Chang Chih-chung, Chiang Kai-shek's representative in the North-west, told the Associated Press that "China's potential powder-keg", that is, Turkestan, could best be defused by a "strong dose of

practical democracy". What this would imply no one can say. But to quote from the AP report: "Chang Chih-Chung told the Associated Press that the greatest portion of unrest and rebellion, still prevailing in Sinkiang, was directly traceable to the 'unjust' rule of former Central Government representatives, who had refused to grant Sinkiang tribes any measures of self-representation".¹

The people of Turkestan are keen on sending their students to Islamic countries, especially for the study of medicine, provided the education is free. They do not wish to send them to China, where not only is education imparted through Chinese, but no facilities are allowed to Muslim students for boarding and lodging separately. They have either to de-Muslimise themselves or forego education. The Turkis prefer the latter.

One hopes that there is a better future ahead of the Muslims of China. It is remarkable how they have preserved their identity. It is also remarkable that, being Chinese, they have remained different from the other Chinese; and in spite of living in China they have lived their own lives.

They have not yet had time to recover from the long tyranny of the Manchus. During the last three hundred years their population was reduced by about 30 per cent, if not more. Still, they are at least fifty million, or five crores, according to the latest independent estimates; although the Government estimates them to be only seven to ten million. These figures are basically wrong, for according to official estimates themselves the population of Sinkiang alone is over four million and of it 94 per cent are Muslims. The population of Muslims in Kansu and

¹The China Press (24-9-1947).

Ninghsia is about fifty per cent of the total of over ten million, and that of Yunnan 25 per cent of the total of over ten million. Even Marshall Broomhall in 1911 had put the Muslim population total at about fifteen million. The figure of fifty million today tallies with the estimates which the Muslims themselves offer of their population in this subcontinent, and it has not been questioned by foreigners.¹

The low official figures of the population of Chinese Muslims are an attempt at reducing their importance. Yet, the Muslims are expectant of better days, and on the lyres of their hearts dim and distant melodies are already awaking. There was a time, during 1860 and 1873, when they stood on the threshold of a great Muslim state in China. But for disunity among their ranks, they would have established their sway over large areas of the Middle Kingdom. That opportunity was lost. In time to come, however, they are sure to rise to greater heights of fame and glory.

¹See Appendix on population.

CHAPTER IV

EASTERN TURKESTAN

Eastern Turkestan, or the New Dominion, as Sinkiang is called by the Chinese, is an ancient land. It has a population of about 4,000,000, almost 94 per cent of whom are Muslims. Nearly 77 per cent of the people are Turki, 10 per cent Kazak, 6 per cent Chinese, 2.5 per cent Tungan, 1.5 per cent Kirghiz, and 1.4 per cent Mongol. There are also some Tartars, Uzbeks, Tadjiks and White Russians. The region, whose area is roughly 550,000 square miles, is rich in mineral deposits, though these have scarcely been touched. Originally it formed the western part of what was known as Turkestan, which embraced Samarkand, Bokhara and Ferghana. These were subsequently conquered by Russia. But in both the Russian and Chinese Turkestans, which have long been renowned for their wealth and beauty, dwell people of similar race and culture. Even today, names like Yarkand, Kashghar and Turfan, remind us of the glory of their earlier days which pervades Persian poetry, and is reflected in such lines of Hafiz :

اگر آن ترک شیرازی بدست آرد دل مارا
بخال مددش بخشم سمرقند و بخارا را

If that Turk of Shiraz were perchance mine,
For her black mole Samarkand and Bokhara both
I'll sacrifice.

For their heritage is essentially the same, as was
their civilization.

Geographically, Eastern Turkestan is divided into two by the T'ien Shan, the Heavenly Mountain, so popular in

Chinese lore, and so loved by the Turki peoples. To the north of this mountain lie the semi-desert plains and valleys of Ili or Kuldja and Zungaria. To the South is the Tarim Basin, with the river Tarim flowing eastwards into lake Lob Nor. This area is an extension of the Gobi desert, with the Turfan oasis to the north of the lake.

Trade routes have run through Turkestan from times immemorial, connecting China with the outside world. One of these routes leads to Kashghar and Yarkand at the foot of the Pamirs, which act as a barrier between Pakistan and China. Another leads through Kuldja to the steppes. Along these routes Chinese wares travelled to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, the Middle East, Byzantium, Greece and the Roman Empire. Along them Arab and Greek travellers and armies marched to the very gates of the Middle Kingdom and into it. To these routes was due the great inter-change of civilizations between China and the outside world.

The centres of early culture were the Indus Valley and the northern areas of what is now Western Pakistan, Persia, the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, the valley of the Nile and the Mediterranean basin. Between these centres and China, people of the Tarim basin, who had achieved a high degree of civilization, long before the Christian era, acted as intermediaries. This intercourse still further enriched them all. One has only to close one's eyes and look back in imagination to see Alexander leading his victorious armies along these routes; to see the faithful Chang Ch'ien start in 138 B. C. in search of the Ta Yueh Chi tribe, suffer captivity and hardships, to find the Ta Yuch Chi at last but unwilling to return to the East and fight the Hsiung Nu with Han support. One might see the brave but Machiavellian Pan Ch'ao cross into Turkestan and to the

West; Buddhist priests and relics cross into the Flowery Kingdom; Qutaiba bin Muslim's soldiers poised for an attack on the T'ang empire; the hosts of Changez Khan march down the plains and valleys and deserts; and his noble descendant Babur leave lonely Ferghana and descend into the Punjab and found the glorious Mughal dynasty of Delhi.

Archaeology proves what a wealth of things and ideas has passed through and remained in Turkestan, which was the meeting ground of divers civilizations, Persian, Greek and Chinese, and in later times, Arab and Muslim.

The Chinese first discovered this land in Han times, in the second century B. C., when as a result of constant war with the Hsiung Nu, a Turki people, the Emperor Wu Ti (141-87 B. C.) sent Chang Ch'ien in 138 B. C. to discover a tribe called Yueh Chi, who had been defeated by the Hsiung Nu. The Emperor's plan was to persuade this tribe to fight with his help the Hsiung Nu. Chang Ch'ien set out. He learnt in one region that the tribe had moved on to another. At last he discovered it in Bactria, now called Ferghana; but he could not persuade it to return. On coming back after twelve years to his country, Chang Ch'ien related to the Emperor, among other things, that in Ta Yuan, he had seen the most magnificent horses. Thereupon the Emperor despatched envoys to get some of these horses. But the king of Ta Yuan refused to sell any of them. At last one of the Chinese envoys succeeded in carrying off several horses by force. They were chased and the Chinese envoy and his retinue were slain.

At this the Emperor Wu Ti was so enraged that in 104 B. C., in complete disregard of geography and distance, he sent an army under the General Li Kaung-li. Eastern

Turkestan was then divided into thirty-six small kingdoms, all centring round cultivable areas. As they did not have any food to spare, the people refused to feed Li Kuang-li's army. So the General behaved in a manner even more high-handed than that of his predecessor who had carried off the horses, and occupied every city he came to. Thus for the first time Turkestan came to be conquered by the Chinese. Some decades later, once more finding the Hsiung Nu on the war path, the emperor Han Ming Ti (A. D. 58-77) turned his attention again to Turkestan, which had, in the meantime, become independent. An officer, Pan Ch'ao (A. D. 32-102), brother of the most celebrated woman-of-letters in China, Pan Chao, was sent in A. D. 73, to the kingdoms of Turkestan, to secure recognition for Han suzerainty. Though these kingdoms were free, with Machiavellian strategy Pan Ch'ao succeeded within 20 years in bringing them under Han control. But the distant posts of the far western portion of Eastern Turkestan could not be maintained and, with the decadence of Han empire in the second century A. D., the Chinese garrison was withdrawn from the frontier in Kansu.

Eastern Turkestan was again overrun in the middle of the fifth century by the T'u Pa, whose dynasty, the Northern Wei, ruled over it from 386 to 534 A. D. Chinese influence was re-established in Turkestan by Yang Ti, the second and the last emperor of the Sui dynasty (589-618).

After this, the Turki people established a federation and became so strong as to make raids up to the very walls of Ch'angan, the T'ang capital. But in 630 A. D. the Western Turks, though at the height of their power, were defeated ; and in T'ai Tsung's time, Samarkand and Bokhara were forced to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty. Under his son, Kao Tsung, Tashkent and Ferghana also

came under Chinese rule. About this time the Arabs, roused by the inspiration and impulse of Islam, began their phenomenal, staggering rise. They extended their power to country after country. In time, the sun of Islam began to shed its light even on Turkestan.

When in 1206, Temuchin, greeted by his people as Chengez Khan, rose, the Uigurs and Karlurks of the New Dominion voluntarily recognised his suzerainty. He then turned his attention towards China. After 1223, he moved West and, within a short time, annexed the rest of the New Dominion, and on the one side marched up to India and on the other to south-eastern Europe.

Islam by now had penetrated into all parts of China. When the Manchus established the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911), many provinces of North, North-west and even the South (Yunnan) were predominantly Muslim. The story of how the Manchus treated the Muslims has already been told in the last chapter. It was in the reign of Ch'ien Lung (1736-1796) that Kashghar, Yarkand and Khotan were conquered by the Chinese (1759). Kuldja had been annexed in 1755 and the Tarim basin reduced. This territory was reorganised into the New Dominion, Sinkiang, and has since been known in China by that name.

The people made a bid for independence during Tao Kuang's reign (1820-50), but failed. In 1864, they rose again with greater success, and under the valiant Yaqoob Beg, they achieved their independence and retained it until his death in 1877. In 1882, after the Muslims had been ruthlessly suppressed, Sinkiang was proclaimed a province of China. Since the foundation of the Republic in 1911, Chinese Turkestan, never really Chinese, has been striving for independence. Russian influence became active, and since 1932, as a result of improved rail communications

between Moscow and Western Turkestan, Sinkiang has seen greater Russian penetration.

Though conquered by the Chinese a number of times, Turkestan has never allowed China any rest. Nor, indeed, has she herself had much rest. Her problem has been mainly racial. Though the largest racial group is Turki, there are the Kazaks, a Turki, but more Mongoloid, people; and the Tungans, who are Chinese. The main issue, however, centres round the nationalist aspirations of Turakis.

During the last two decades, Turkestan has been full of unrest and dissatisfaction. Here group rivalries, as in many other countries, have unfortunately stood in the way of speedier progress and the achievement of independence. The Ining group, though in a minority, has been trying to wrest power. The Kuomintang have followed a policy that is in keeping with imperialist diplomacy. ".....if Sinkiang can really achieve independence, I shall be the first to approve", said General Chang Chih-Chung, the Director of Generalissimo's North-west Military Headquarters, "or at least to offer my support, when the Central Government discusses the matter. If the people of Sinkiang desire independence, they can attain it without employing armed force. The Philippines and India did not have to resort to force of arms in order to gain their independence. Why should Sinkiang?"¹

All this sounds very benevolent, but does not satisfy the aspirations of the Turki people.

If, on the other hand, there were no causes for discontent, General Chang Chih-Chung would not have

¹ "Dilemma in Sinkiang" by Chang Chih-Chung. *Pacific Affairs*, December 1947, p. 425.

reported in the following words to the conference he had called to discuss various problems, on May 13, 1947, in Tihua (Urumchi), the capital of Eastern Turkestan: "Apropos of the situation in Kashghar, I want to say that the present atmosphere there is unfriendly to our national troops, and to the national interest. If this state of affairs persists, it will obstruct our efforts to implement the peace agreements and to uphold the prestige of the provincial government. Let me cite an example of what I have in mind. On the morning of the day fixed for the popular petition, the entire city suddenly took down every national flag. Moreover, among the slogans shouted by the petitioners, not a single 'Long Live the Republic of China!' could be heard, while cries of 'Long Live Revolution!' resounded in one's ears."¹

It does not take one long to realise why on the "popular petition day" Chinese flags were taken down and shouts of "Long Live Revolution" resounded in the streets. The national aspirations of a people demand independence and freedom from foreign rule, and when a people cannot fight for them with arms, they resort to other means. No group in Turkestan, however pro-Chinese it may be, is in favour of the continuance of Chinese rule in the New Dominion. For under that rule, national pride has suffered a setback, of which not only politicians, but also poets are conscious, as this poem by Abdullah Huseini Teman shows :

O you who have lost your name,
Has anyone saved a grain of your honour and your
pride?
Has anyone kept alive
Your glory once renowned?

¹ Ibid.

Time marches on a hundred times ahead.
 What elements of your past have helped you in your
 plight ?

These are the thoughts that rankle in our minds,
 And grief turns to pain and throbs in our hearts.
 Your fallen blood, your sacrifice,
 Shine through the veins and lashes of your eyes,
 And glow to this day as the mountain of the foe.

Your pride and glory were sacrificed and flowed as
 blood.

The time is not so far when these our breasts
 To graveyards will have turned one day.
 Who is your friend and who the flesh of your flesh ?
 God alone will give you rest.

Like pearls is the value of the blood you have shed.
 What you seek you will not find, not yet :
 Therefore seek the world.
 No amber has grown out of your grave :
 Then now can amber grow ? Ah, think, reflect !

If a shooting star leaps from the West,
 We fear it may not fal' upon our breasts.
 If the light of the sun would bend on you,
 Our light-suckled fatherland will brighten up.

What for you shed your blood ?
 Where is your sacrifice ?
 Did not the leader stay away within the minaret ?
 Look at your history :
 Where are those glorious days of old ?
 In contemplation you will know
 Where those happy days have fled.

Are millions ready for you ? Aye, are they ?

What has come upon your land ?

And what befell your earth ?

Wherefore does this thorn grow in your side ?

Who sowed this seed ?

Use not your muscles, use your brains.

Look at the world : who is your foe and who your friend ?

Shout not in vain, nor cry ;

Comb back your frenzied locks of hair.

Who is your friend and who the flesh of your flesh ?

Shout not in vain, nor cry ;

Comb back your frenzied locks of hair.

Not everyone here is your friend,

So do not show your heart to everyone.

Who is your friend and who the flesh of your flesh ?

Ah, think, reflect !

For wounded be our hearts

We yearn for the hill that is our confidante,

We yearn for the home now ruined to caves,

For the face that lost both honour, name,

We yearn for the white snow of our tears.¹

That is why, in the words of General Chang, " although we say that Sinkiang is at peace, everyone is aware of an undercurrent of unrest in the various strata of its society. "

The policy of the Kuomintang Government, as laid down by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in his *Three Principles*, was one of self-determination for the racial groups and minorities of the country. This policy, however, was not followed in practice. General Chang reiterated it in the following

¹Translated from the Turki by the present writer with the help of the poet.

words in 1947: "The Central Government is willing to surrender all political power to the people of Sinkiang on condition that the territory and sovereignty of the nation (*i.e.* China) suffer no impairment thereby."¹

The situation today is that there are several political groups in Turkestan. The Ili group is controlled by a party, which, though not communist, is pro-Russian. After the conference convened in 1947, by the Provincial Government, consisting of 25 members, 10 nominated by the Chinese authorities and 15 elected by the people, the Ining (opposition) group members retired from Tihua (Urumchi) to Ili and have not returned. They are the revolutionary party and at present control the three richest districts of Turkestan, Ili, Chuguchak and Altai. These districts produce wolfram, gold, oil and surplus grain. Their products now find their way into Russia, not for political reasons, but because the natural trade outlets are towards Russia. A number of young intellectuals, once in favour of the Ining group, have, however, returned from Ili to Tihua or Nanking. The main reason for this was their dissatisfaction with the pro-Russian policy of the Ili regime. Yet they were not very much in favour of Masud Sabri, who has lived for 20 years in China, a moderate leader and now a member and chairman of the Provincial Government. There is also a group in the South, and recently there were again signs of discontent in Kashghar.

The leadership of the country is not stable. Most people yearn for a truly patriotic leader and a nationalist government. The Chinese have either neglected the country or grossly misruled it. Since its constitution into a

¹ *Pacific Affairs*, December 1947, page 426.

“ province ” in 1882, there has been nothing but high-handedness or misgovernment in Turkestan. The first governor was the war-lord Yang Tseng-hsin, who was assassinated in 1928. Then came General Chin Shu-jen.

In 1932, General Ma Chung-ying, a Tungan (Muslim) from Chinghai, invaded Turkestan and marched up to the gates of Urumchi. Sheng Shih-tsai, who followed in 1934, called in the Russians to expel Ma Chung-ying. This was the worst period in the recent history of Turkestan. Thousands of Turki people were imprisoned, tortured and killed. Then, following his whim, in 1942, Sheng suddenly turned anti-Russian and made wholesale arrests of Turkis on the pretext of their being pro-Russian. In 1943, Russia withdrew from Turkestan.

In 1944, the Kuomintang made the first appointment of a governor in the region. This was Wu Chung-hsin. Towards the end of the year, the Ili group declared the Republic of East Turkestan, comprising the three districts of Ili, Chuguchak and Altai. It is still a semi-independent state.

In the whole of Turkestan, there are only about 6 per cent Chinese. As they behave with arrogance and pride, they have always been unpopular with the Turkis. The recent Kashghar agitation was directed, among other things, against the marriages of Chinese with Muslim women. Many Chinese officials and soldiers of the Chinese garrisons behave high-handedly.

Because of the lack of news, today one cannot say with any degree of certainty what the future of Turkestan and Sino-Turki relations will be. The policy of the Kuomintang towards the minorities has been one of absorption. It failed completely in Mongolia, Turkestan and Tibet. That of the communists towards the Muslims

is of helping the formation of autonomous governments, protection of their culture and guaranteeing religious freedom to all sects.

The only group in Turkestan that is at present in a position to assert itself is the Ili group. Its attitude towards the Kuomintang has been made clear. Its attitude to the Chinese communists is not known ; but it certainly is not hostile.

The one great problem facing Turkestan is that arising out of its geographical and strategic position. The interest of the Russians, who are to the west of Turkestan, is in its having a government that will be sympathetic to them. China to the east has been interested in it as a colony, and the Chinese have employed in Turkestan the same tactics which they have deprecated in other colonial countries. The interests of Russia and China have always clashed in Turkestan. But it is to be hoped that with the establishment of a new regime in China this situation will no longer be explosive.

As for Turkestan itself, it is likely that the Ili group, by appealing to the nationalist or patriotic sentiments of the people, may assume the leadership of the whole country. It is also likely that another war-lord from China may try to establish his rule. But it is hoped that neither a New China nor Russia would favour it. A divided Turkestan will benefit nobody and both her eastern and western neighbours would like to see that there is a united Turkestan. But for past Chinese neglect and consequent lack of education among its people, the future of Turkestan would have been brighter than it now seems. Still there is no cause for despair. A people's will to advance is always eventually crowned with success.

CHAPTER V

NINGHSIA, KANSU AND CHINGHAI

"...it is quite evident to anyone who sees them (the Muslims) in their own domain in the north-west that their claims to racial unity and the right to nationhood as a people are not without substantial basis in fact and history." Thus remarks Edgar Snow in *Red Star Over China*. The Kuomintang have held that the Muslims are not a racial group though they are a religious minority. In reality, the Muslims, especially those of Chinghai, Kansu, Ninghsia, and Shensi, have lived their lives quite independently of the Chinese. They are concentrated in these provinces, as also in Szechuan and Yunnan. In many districts they are still in a majority. Their way of life and their racial characteristics are quite distinct from the Hans or Chinese. Muslims of other provinces, have undoubtedly been absorbed or Sinologised to a certain extent. A visit to these provinces shows how Muslim they are. A visitor feels that he is in a Muslim country, no different from any other Muslim country. There are the same mosques, the same *ameers* and *mullahs*; one hears the same *azaan* and sees the same regard and respect for Islamic things, the same grouping into sects. The number of sects in these provinces is only three, namely the Old, the New and the Modern or the New-new Faith, the last standing for a greater degree of modernisation than the second and for destroying the power of the *mullahs*. Culturally, too, they are more akin to other Muslim countries than to China, except in dress, which is Chinese. Racially they have a mixture of Turki blood.

The provinces of Chinghai and Ninghsia are unique in having two Muslims as their governors, General

Ma Pu-fang and General Ma Hung-kuei. They are related to one another and come of well-known Ma families. Ma is a common Muslim name in China. Though literally it means horse, it is derived from Mohammad, which cannot be written in its polysyllabic form in Chinese, which is strictly monosyllabic. So Mohammad is written as Mo-ha-ma-da. Ma is the third syllable of this name.

Between them the two Generals Ma control Ninghsia, Chinghai and the western part of Kansu. Their influence extends to Shensi. General Ma Hung-kuei is the more famous of the two, being not only a brave soldier, but also because he has attracted more attention since his marriage to a Soochow graduate. He has ambition ; and in the present turmoil, he is capable of occupying Kansu.

General Ma Pu-fang, on the other hand, has an ambition of a different kind. He is more keenly interested in education, and has established innumerable schools, kindergarten, primary, and middle, for boys as well as girls. In 1947, there were in Chinghai over 500 such schools, in which over 25,000 students were studying. In many schools Muslim education was imparted. As a requisite of independence, General Ma Pu-fang considers education foremost. He has also developed agriculture, mining, cottage industries, communications, etc. Politically too he is more conscious of his role as a Muslim and of the role that the Muslims can play. His soldiers are extremely well-trained, for he believes that "good people are the foundation of good soldiers ; good soldiers are the models of good people." His aim and ambition has been to achieve unity. But for an historical discord between the Turkis and Tungans, this unity could have far-reaching effects. Even so, between the two of them, the Generals

Ma could control the north-western provinces and weld them into a substantial unit.

As they are two of the richest Generals in China and have been governors of largely Muslim provinces, they have enjoyed a great measure of independence. The communists have not turned towards the north-west, in their present drive either. For they know from their experience during the anti-Japanese war that the Muslims wish to keep aloof from the Chinese, and that it will not be easy to make a headway with them. The communists' declared attitude towards the Muslims can be judged from the following promises made by them :

To help form an autonomous Muslim State.

To protect Muslim culture.

To guarantee the religious freedom of all sects.

To help unite the Muslims of China, Outer Mongolia, Sinkiang and Soviet Russia.

The two Generals Ma are, however, anti-communist and it has to be seen what attitude they will adopt towards the New China that is now emerging. By keeping aloof, they may strike a bargain with the communists. It is, however, doubtful if the fourth of these promises will appeal to all Muslims. The Turki population of Turkestan is not likely to accept unity with the Tungans in the east, at the cost of their own independence, or with the largely Kazak group on their north-west or the racially different people of Outer Mongolia. It also seems unlikely that the Tungans will agree to lose their advantageous position by agreeing to join the Muslims of Soviet Russia.

But this is mere surmise. The future may unfold quite a different pattern. Separate autonomous units

may come into existence ; or all these Muslim groups may merge into the large units that lie to their east and west. Had there been a more politically conscious leadership among the Muslims of the region, it might have been easier to predict and read the mysterious characters of Time. And yet some sort of unity might well be achieved by them. The birth of Pakistan sent a wave of joy in the hearts of all Muslims, whether Turki, Tungan, Panthay or those belonging to the Kuomintang. Everyone will watch future developments with interest.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This was a year ago. Now Manchuria has completely fallen. The North has come under communist domination. The battle for Nanking has begun. By the time this book comes out a new China will have emerged.

Many regiments, with their commanders, went over to the communists during the last phase of the battle for Manchuria. A number of important cities and points have been abandoned by the nationalists in an attempt to shorten the front and to concentrate on the Yangtze Valley. The end of the battle north of the Yangtze is in sight. America cannot go on helping the Kuomintang. Chiang Kai-shek, himself a remarkable man, is caught within the cocoon he had built around himself.

What then will happen? Either capitulation or peace on the terms dictated by the communists; these are the only alternatives. If, in the meantime, the Nationalist Government shifts its headquarters to Canton, it would be ironical. For it was there that the Government was formed in 1911.

Whatever the fate of the Kuomintang, China will remain. Birth and decay rest with Heaven. Bloodshed and misery have given the country her patience and philosophy. Revolutions and treachery have been a common game played under her skies. Dynasties have fallen, emperors have been overthrown, massacres unnumbered have taken place; but the great Middle Kingdom and her people have lived on. Today dies in tomorrow. The colour of China has changed from yellow to blue and may still change to red in the future. But even the communists will not be able to adopt a philosophy of intolerance. Not

for long, any way. China has not accepted such a philosophy in the past; she will not in the future. The influence of her greatest sage will not die in a day. The teachings of Confucius may not be taught today, but they are part of the genius of the country. They are China. Moreover, the Chinese as a people are not communists. If they are anti-Kuomintang today, it is because there seems no hope for the future under Kuomintang rule.

The communism that will spread in the country will be different from the Russian type. In their attitude to men and events, the Chinese communists have been quite different from the Russians. Tolerance is in the soil of the 'Flowery Middle Kingdom'. The spring and autumn of China, her civilization and culture, will change communism soon, very soon, and draw it into the mild atmosphere of China's past.

This is clear from the communists' attitude towards the minorities in China. They have frankly upheld their rights and openly preached the principle of self-determination for the different racial and cultural groups. Their attitude to the Muslims of Sinkiang (Turkestan) has also been one of sympathy. It may, to a certain extent, have been based on their desire to keep the minorities pleased.

Whatever the shape and form of the future government of China, the Muslims do not necessarily stand to lose by the coming changes. The governors of two provinces, Chinghai and Ninghsia, are Muslims, General Ma Pu-fang and General Ma Hung-kuei. If left undisturbed for some time, the Chinese Muslims will emerge, out of their present backwardness, a politically conscious and progressive group. Even now if they succeed in forgetting their age-old hostility to the Turki Muslims of Sinkiang, they could form a strong *bloc*.

In the awakened Asia of today the aggressors, whether native or foreign, have no chance. The Muslims especially have suffered enough during the last two hundred years. They have already become conscious of the joys of freedom, and soon, very soon, a new renaissance will spread all over the the Muslim world.

The Chinese Muslims may have been silent for the last sixty years or so. But the fire still burns in their breasts as the following elegy by a Chinese Muslim, Ma Mung¹, on the Quaid-i-Azam shows

“Change sorrow
Into anger,
Change anger
Into fire,
And let the fire
Burn.”
Last night
Thus Jinnah spoke
Or so I heard.

“Without the irrigation of blood
There is no revival nor new growth.
Without the hand of resistance
There can be no peace or happiness.
Go, tell the chosen sons of Mohammad,
The faithful brothers in Islam”.

I awoke.

“Jinnah is dead”.

As in an explosion

Everyone is shaken.

As though in the dark night

We lost a bright lamp ;

Or at the crossroads in the daytime

¹Yueh Hua, Peiping, 18th September, 1948.

We lost our guide ;
 As though we lost both father and mother ;
 We grieve and are sorrowful ;
 We also mourn.
 I seem to hear
 Jinnah say again :
 "Change sorrow
 Into anger,
 Change anger
 Into fire,
 And let the fire
 Burn",

That they are desirous of taking their stand by the side of the free peoples of the world is borne out by the following quotations from *Yueh Hua* (a Peiping Chinese bi-weekly) of 18th September, 1948. In an editorial on the Quaid-i-Azam's death, the paper writes : "We admit that the situation in China is widely different from that of Pakistan. Our national movement stayed at a stage of ignorance and lacked consciousness. This, unfortunately, is an undeniable fact. We have no theory, no ideal, no method, and no policy. While mourning Mr. Jinnah today we would like to raise these questions for the attentive study of our brethren".

Hai Lee-jan, writing in the same paper of the same date, expresses the wish of Chinese Muslims for continuing the great struggle which the Quaid-i-Azam had carried on : "We mourn the passing of the Leader of the Muslim Movement. We have lost a great teacher. Our path shall be more difficult hereafter. Our duty will be greater. With fortitude we shall carry on the work that he has left behind. We shall tread the great path of reviving Islam. Has Jinnah been separated from us for ever?

No. He will not part from us. He will for ever be with us. He will, like a light-house, show us the way that we should walk."

Another writer, Wu Wei, in the same issue of *Yueh Hua*, speaks more plainly of the ambitions of his people and says that the fire that burns in the breast of the Chinese Muslim is the same as that in the breast of the Pakistani Muslim: "We have the same destiny; we are treading the same historic path. We also hope for well-being and a settled life. We also want freedom and equality—the fundamental rights of human beings. Though we sing aloud that the Muslims of the world are one and we, Chinese Muslims, are a link in the whole chain, yet, can we compare ourselves with our Pakistan bretheren without feeling ashamed? What have we achieved? What fruit have we borne?"

"In the great tempest of the Muslim movement, Mr. Jinnah's death is a great blow. But the world situation does not allow us to lament and mourn. If we who survive cannot fulfil Mr. Jinnah's mission in struggling for the welfare of Muslim masses, if we cannot emancipate our fifty million brethren, then it would truly be a great loss!"¹

Here we stop, with the hope that ever between the people of Pakistan and the people of China in general, and her Muslims in particular, there will be understanding and friendship.

1. See Appendix II for the condolence message sent by the Muslims of Peiping to the Government of Pakistan on the Quaid-i-Azam's death.

APPENDIX I

POPULATION OF MUSLIMS IN CHINA

According to Dr. Lyman Hoover, the Chinese Government's estimate of the Muslim population of China is seven to ten million. On the face of it, this estimate is wrong, for the population of Sinkiang alone, in 1933, according to the figures given in the *China Handbook* for 1943, was 4,360,020; that of Kansu and Shensi respectively 6,255,467 and 9,799,617. The population of Muslims in Kansu and Shensi is said to be 69 and 41 per cent and that of Sinkiang 94 per cent of their respective total populations. This alone takes the figure of Muslims to more than twelve million, leaving out the Muslim population of Yunnan, Chinghai, Ninghsia and the other provinces of China, which is very considerable. Moreover, the population of the Muslims of the Yangtse Valley alone was estimated at more than ten million by S. Wells Williams in his book, *The Middle Kingdom*, published in 1883¹

The first column in the table on the next page gives the figures of the whole population of the provinces as given by the Government in the *China Handbook* for 1943; the second contains the figures of Muslim population in 1910, according to Marshall Broomhall, as given in his book, *Islam in China*, and the third table gives the figures of Muslim population in 1938 according to Chinese Muslim sources. The figures given by Broomhall and by Muslim sources are only estimates; but they tell their own story. I have also mentioned the percentage of Muslim population wherever available.

¹¹. See Chapter 18. In the same Chapter Williams goes on to say, "In some places they form a third of the population; a missionary in Szechuan reckons 80,000 living in one of its cities."

Province (1)	Total population according to the Chinese Government (2)	Muslim population according to Marshall Broomhall (3)	Muslim population according to Muslim sources (4)	Percentage on basis of columns 2&4 (5)
Shensi	9,799,617 (1940)	500,000 (1910)	4,000,000 (1938)	41
Yunnan	10,853,359 (1939)	1,000,000 "	3,000,000 "	28
Hopei	28,644,437 (1936)	1,000,000 "	3,000,000 "	10
Manchuria	39,454,026 (1940)	200,000 "	4,300,000 "	11
Szechuan	46,403,006 (1939)	250,000 "	4,000,000 "	9
Chinghai ¹	1,512,823 (1940)	Not given as the province was carved out after 1910	No figures available, but said to be considerable	Said to be large
Shantung	38,099,741 (1936)	200,000 (1910)	1,600,000 "	4
Honan	31,805,621 (1939)	250,000 "	1,800,000 "	6
Kiangsu	36,469,321 (1935)	250,000 "	1,500,000 "	4
Shansi	11,601,026 (1934)	25,000 "	1,500,000 "	13
Hunan	27,186,730 (1940)	20,000 "	2,000,000 "	7
Kweichow	10,487,367 (1940)	20,000 "	1,100,000 "	10
Hupei	24,658,088 (1940)	10,000 "	1,700,000 "	7
Kwantung	32,338,795 (1939)	25,000 "	500,000 "	1.5

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Kwangsi	14,254,609 (1940)	20,000 (1910)	1,000,000 (1938)	7
Anhwei	22,704,538 "	40,000 "	1,200,000 "	5
Kiangsi	13,794,159 "	500 "	800,000 "	6
Fukien	11,990,441 "	1,000 "	500,000 "	4
Chekian	21,776,045 "	7,500 "	600,000 "	3
Tibet	750,000 (Estimated)	30,000 "	} No figures available, but said to be considerable	—
Mongolia	880,000 ,	100,000 "		—
Kansu	6,255,467 (1940)	3,500,000 "	4,300,000 (1938)	69
Ninghsia ²	735,767 "	Included in above	367,883 "	50
Sinkiang	4,360,020 (1933)	2,400,000 "	4,092,202 "	94

¹There is something wrong somewhere. This province was carved out later, and the Government figures for it may have been included in those for Szechuan. Besides, one is not sure how accurate the Government census reports are. No census could have been possible on any accurate scale during war-time. The figures in all the three columns, therefore, should be taken as mere estimates.

²The population of this province, however, is largely Muslim, and the percentage should be higher than 50%. I am inclined to consider it to be 75% of the whole population. But unless the Government hold a proper census, no exact figures of Chinese or Muslim population can be known.

APPENDIX II

TELEGRAM OF CONDOLENCE ON THE DEATH OF MR. JINNAH SENT BY PEIPING MUSLIMS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

In order to pay tribute to the great leader, all the public bodies like Fuh Teh Library, Peiping Institute of Islamic Scriptural Studies, Muslim Youth Society and *Yueh Hua*, jointly sent the following telegram to the Government of Pakistan :—

“On behalf of fifty million Chinese Muslims we beg to express our deeply felt grief on hearing the news that the beloved leader of Muslims all over the world, Mr. Jinnah, has returned to the True One. Our anguish is indeed boundless. As the Holy Koran has said : ‘ We belong to Allah and to Him we must all return ’. We, therefore, hope that you will change your sorrow into courage, with which to accomplish what he has left undone, (and generate) a stream to wash clean the stains of evil. We hope you will continue to construct a garden, peaceful and blessed, called Pakistan, for the Musalmans. With brotherly affection, we shall render you our support. Wishing you success”.¹



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¹Published in *Yueh Hua*, dated 18th September 1948.

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